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ABSTRACT

Three standard assessment instruments (Rorschach, Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory and 16PF) were administered to 12 participating Rosebud Sioux Indians--6 males, 6 females. Reports were generated for each instrument. Consensual and unique concepts contained in all the reports were analyzed in order to describe the contents. Six judges, all residents of the reservation and either college employees or social agency personnel attempted to match the participants with their reports. The judges may not have known all of the participants intimately, but they were well acquainted with the facts of their lives. Two general questions were explored: (1) can people who are acquainted with all participants identify them from their reports; and (2) what are the similarities and differences in report content among the three instruments. Only two judges were able to identify reports with significant accuracy, suggesting that assessors should be wary of their conventional assessment instruments as applied to Native Americans. The report suggests that the instruments are not sufficiently sensitive to themes concerning particular tribes and cultures; social etiquette of assessment interaction; and to an underlying genocidal theme of white-Native American assessment confrontations. The paper concludes that psychological tests might be made more culturally specific and that objective tests require local and tribal norms for Native Americans. Cautious use of assessment instruments is recommended until training in culture-specific administration and interpretation of projective techniques is available and local tribal norms have been provided for objective tests. 19 references, 4 tables. (TES)

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Personality Assessment of Rosebud Sioux: A Comparison of Rorschach, Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory, and 16PF Reports

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Abstract

Three standard assessment instruments (Rorschach, Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory, 16PF) were administered to 12 Rosebud Sioux and reports were generated for each instrument. Judges who were reservation residents attempted to match participants with reports. Only two judges were able to identify reports with significant accuracy. Consensual and unique concepts contained in all reports were analyzed in order to describe contents. Cautious usage of assessment instruments is recommended until training in culture-specific administration and interpretation of projective techniques is available and local/tribal norms have been provided for objective tests.

Personality Assessment of Rosebud Sioux: A Comparison of Rorschach, Millon Multiaxial Clinical Inventory, and 16PF Reports

Personality instruments that explicitly or implicitly use white norms are acknowledged to be inappropriate for assessment of persons from minority populations. Nonetheless, in the absence of culture-specific emic instruments and/or local norms for etic tests, comparative validation studies of popular instruments are mandatory. This study explores the use of three personality assessment instruments with Rosebud Sioux. The capability of these instruments to produce identifiable personality descriptions as well as the concepts contained in their reports are analyzed. Relevant matching studies and the history of research using concepts contained in assessment reports are reviewed.

While many matching studies have been done for white assessees by providing judges who know the assessees well with their reports embedded in a context of other reports, there are few applications of this design with Native Americans. Henry (1947) had 32 reports based on Rorschach, TAT, Life History, and Battery data for eight Navajo girls. These reports were presented without identification to three judges who each knew the girls on the basis of only one of these sets of data. Under these conditions correct matchings were considerably better than chance (18/24, 24/24, 15/24). The judge who was familiar with the culture was the only one whose matchings were all correct. Kaplan, Rickers-Ovsiankina, and Joseph (1956) used six male Rorschach

protocols from each of four cultures: Zuni, Navajo, Mormon, and Spanish-American. The first judge was unable to sort the Rorschach protocols into four groups, using two groups of 12 Rorschachs each. The second judge had the names of the cultures plus experience with child Hopi Rorschachs and contact with Navajo culture. This judge correctly sorted 13 of the 24 Rorschach protocols. These studies suggest that assessment data is consistent across instruments for Native Americans and that a culturally-informed assessor can be aware of specific cultural contents in projective assessment data. However, these studies do not use objective test data nor have they relied upon samples of culturally-informed judges who are acquainted with individual assessees.

Concepts contained in assessment reports have been examined as a source of data in order to describe the personality characteristics elicited by the Rorschach (Cameron, 1982; Dana, Bonge & Stauffacher, 1981) and the Thematic Apperception Test (Shneidman, 1954). A reliable methodology for abstracting and clustering these concepts is also available (Dana, 1966; Dana, 1982) and applications of this methodology have been reviewed elsewhere (Dana, Bolton & West, 1983).

Method

Twelve Rosebud Sioux - six males and six females - participated. Table 1 describes their ages, education, residence, and acculturation. A variety of residences was desirable in order to represent different lifestyles. Acculturation was measured by an instrument with social values, blood quantum, language, and occupation/education dimensions

(Hornby, Dana, Hoffmann, & Bolton, 1983). The standard score units used indicated average acculturation for these assessees.

Insert Table 1 about here

The three assessment techniques - Rorschach, Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI), and 16PF - and the acculturation instrument were individually administered to each participant by the senior author. Each participant was paid; feedback was available whenever desired. Computer generated scoring and reports were provided by the Karson Clinical Report for 16PF and the NCS/Interpretive Scoring Systems for MCMI, while the senior author scored, interpreted, and wrote reports from Rorschach data.

Matching was accomplished by six judges - three males and three females. The judges were all reservation residents and college employees or social agency personnel. Five judges were Native Americans (four Lakota Sioux) while the other judge was a social scientist familiar with Lakota Sioux culture by training and professional experience. They ranged in age from 26 to 39 ($M = 35.6$). Educationally, one had an AA, three had BA degrees while two had advanced degrees primarily in social science/human service areas.

Each judge examined the reports for each test separately by sex in a constant order (16PF, MCMI, Rorschach) and matched an alphabetized list of persons with reports using codes that differed for each data set. The accuracy of judges and instruments was described statistically (Mosteller & Bush, 1954).

The concepts contained in all reports were abstracted and clustered. Total numbers of words per report, total numbers of concepts, and numbers of consensual concepts (occurring in two or more reports), and unique concepts (occurring in only one report) were obtained as well as frequencies for specific concepts. Comparisons were done using t-tests for numbers of words, consensual and unique concepts from the three data sources, and for the accuracy of matching by judges and instruments. Two general questions were explored in data analyses: (a) Can persons who are acquainted with all participants identify these persons from the reports? (b) What are the similarities and differences in report content among the three instruments?

Results

Only two judges were significantly accurate (Table 2). Judge F1 made 15 correct matches out of 36 ($Z = 3.92$, $p < .0001$) while judge M2 was significantly accurate for female assessees only with 10 correct matches out of 18 ($Z = 4.30$, $p < .0001$). Judges were most accurate with the MCMI for a total of 23 correct matches out of 72 ($Z = 3.45$, $p < .001$), although F1 was responsible for significance here as well.

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 3 presents the distribution of consensual and unique concepts in reports from the three data sources. The 16PF describes persons normatively on a relatively small number of consistent dimensions. The MCMI and Rorschach are more idiographic with

relatively greater numbers of total concepts and unique concepts. Table 4 indicates that there were significantly more words in MCMI reports than in either the 16PF or Rorschach reports ($t = 5.36$, $p < .01$; $t = 4.93$, $p < .05$). Consensual concepts were represented equally across reports. Unique concepts appeared significantly more frequently in MCMI reports than in the 16PF ($t = 5.87$, $p < .01$) or Rorschach ($t = 3.18$, $p < .05$) while the Rorschach reports contained significantly more unique concepts than the 16PF ($t = 3.78$, $p < .05$).

Insert Tables 3 and 4 about here

Discussion

Matching is a hazardous art that is dependent upon the judge rather than the data source. In spite of relatively successful matching by two judges, this is a dismal performance that indicates the difficulty of the matching task due to incomplete or inadequate descriptions of these Native Americans provided by all instruments. The judges may not have known all of the assessees intimately, but they were well acquainted with the facts of their lives. Although the task was done with significant accuracy two of 12 times, this finding does not produce confidence in these instruments. The solitary successful judge (F1) with male and female assessees was the oldest, a social worker with an AA degree. Whether this judge was more intimately acquainted with assessees than other judges, more careful in examining reports, or simply more sensitive cannot be ascertained.

Henry (1947) and Kaplan et al. (1956) used judges who were "special" in the sense of being trained assessors or having a vital, remunerated interest in the study. Our judges served out of sheer goodwill and/or acquiescence and thus may have been more typical in motivations to professional consumers of assessment reports.

This matching demonstration suggests that assessors should be wary of their conventional instruments as applied to Native Americans. It is not sufficient to be reasonably well informed concerning particular tribes/cultures (Everett, Proctor & Cartmell, 1983), familiar with the social etiquette of the assessment interaction (Hornby, 1983), and to acknowledge an underlying genocidal theme of white-Native American assessment confrontations (Dana, 1985). While these assurances of an adequate relationship during assessment are indeed necessary, they can be no substitute for instruments which are sensitive to the cultural origins and Native American identity of the assessees.

While idiosyncratic personality portraits are provided more cogently by Rorschach reports (and presumably by other projective techniques as well), the possibility of interpretation inadequacies in this study can be examined using independent interpretations by other assessors. Rorschach interpretations need to be culture specific and training formats are still being developed (Dana, 1984) following early concern by Abel (1973).

Objective tests require local and tribal norms for Native Americans. While there are fragments of norms for some tests (Dana, Hornby & Hoffmann, 1984; Hoffmann, Dana & Bolton, (1985), such data

are not currently available for the MCMI and the 16PF. The MCMI describes persons idiosyncratically within a DSM-III frame of reference for identifying psychopathology in populations that do not explicitly include Native Americans. However, there is potential for pathologization with this objective instrument as with the MMPI (Pollack & Shore, 1980; Hoffmann, 1984) that should be examined by careful pilot usage with assessees whose psychopathological status has been previously determined by independent, culture-specific methods. Local tribal norms for the 16PF would permit identification of cultural contributions to normal personality representation on this test.

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Table 1

Native American Assessees: Age, Education, Acculturation, Residence by Sex

Sex	Age		Education		Acculturation		Residence
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	
Male	39.5	21-58	13.83	13-15	51.4	42-62	Antelope (M,F), Mission (M,F), Parmelee (M,F), Rosebud (M,F),
Female	27.16	22-34	14.16	11-16	51.02	37-62	He-Dog (F), St. Francis (M), Spring Creek (M), Upper Cut Meat (F)

Table 2

Number of Correct Matches for Male (M) and Female (F) Judges Using Reports from 16PF, Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI), and Rorschach Data from Male and Female Assessees

Assessees	Judge	MCMI	16PF	Rorschach	Total
Male	M1	2	1	1	4
	M2	0	0	1	1
	M3	3*	0	0	3
	F1	1	2	2	5
	F2	0	0	0	0
	F3	1	1	0	2
Female	M1	1	2	1	4
	M2	6****	2	2	10****
	M3	2	1	1	4
	F1	4**	2	4**	10****
	F2	2	1	2	5
	F3	1	2	0	3
	Total	23****	14	14	51

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. ****$p < .0001$.

Table 3

Frequencies of Concepts for Twelve Native Americans on Three Instruments: Rorschach, MCMI, and 16PF

Frequency	Rorschach	MCMI	16PF
9	0	2	1
8	0	0	3
7	2	2	2
6	3	2	8
5	1	9	7
4	5	14	8
3	23	46	16
2	44	66	24
1	140	105	29
Total	218	246	98

Table 4

Means and t-tests for Total Words, Consensual and Unique Concepts in Reports from Rorschach, MCMI, and 16PF

Comparison	Total Words		Consensual Concepts		Unique Concepts	
	Mean	*t*	Mean	*t*	Mean	*t*
Rorschach/MCMI	225.5/427.75	4.93**	2.5/3.5	1.23	23.58/36.5	3.18*
Rorschach/16PF	225.5/217	.38	2.5/3	.66	23.58/17.33	3.78*
MCMI/16PF	427.75/217	5.36**	3.5/3	.61	36.5/17.33	5.87**

*$p < .01$. **$p < .001$.